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The Atlanta Riot,

By
RAY STANNARD BAKER

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A NEGRO OF THE CRIMINAL TYPE

The lowest stratum, in all of our American life, is the "worthless negro," as he is called in the South. He is a wanderer, here to-day, there to-morrow; he is densely ignorant and lazy and often with no white man who is his friend. He works only when he is hungry; and he is as much a criminal as he dares to be. It is this class, growing larger every year, though relatively very small compared with the 10,000,000 negroes in the country, that causes most of the trouble in the South. It carouses in the saloons, overflows the jails, fills the chain-gangs: the accounts of its horrible crimes against women flood the newspapers, giving a bad name to the entire negro race

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[*The American Magazine*]

A RACE RIOT, AND AFTER

BY RAY STANNARD BAKER

ILLUSTRATED WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY A. B. PHELAN AND OTHERS



UPON the ocean of antagonism between the white and negro races in this country, there arises occasionally a wave, stormy in its appearance, but soon subsiding into quietude. Such a wave was the Atlanta riot. Its ominous size, greater by far than the ordinary race disturbances which express themselves in lynchings, alarmed the entire country and awakened in the South a new sense of the dangers which threatened it. A description of that spectacular though superficial disturbance, the disaster incident to its fury, and the remarkable efforts at reconstruction will lead the way naturally—as human nature is best interpreted in moments of passion—to a clearer understanding, in future articles, of the deep and complex race feeling which exists in this country.

On the twenty-second day of September, 1906, Atlanta had become a veritable tinder-box. For months the relation of the races had been growing more strained. The entire South had been sharply annoyed by a shortage of labor accompanied by high wages and, paradoxically, by an increasing number of idle negroes. In Atlanta the lower class—the “worthless negro”—had been increasing in numbers: it showed itself too evidently among the swarming

saloons, dives, and “clubs” which a complaisant city administration allowed to exist in the very heart of the city. Crime had increased to an alarming extent: an insufficient and ineffective police force seemed unable to cope with it. With a population of 115,000 Atlanta had over 17,000 arrests in 1905; in 1906 the number increased to 21,602. Atlanta had many more arrests than New Orleans with nearly three times the population and twice as many negroes; and almost four times as many as Milwaukee, Wisconsin, a city nearly three times as large. Race feeling had been sharpened through a long and bitter political campaign, negro disfranchisement being one of the chief issues under discussion. An inflammatory play called “The Clansman,” though forbidden by public sentiment in many Southern cities, had been given in Atlanta and other places with the effect of increasing the prejudice of both races. Certain newspapers in Atlanta, taking advantage of popular feeling, kept the race issue constantly agitated, emphasizing negro crimes with startling headlines. One newspaper even recommended the formation of organizations of citizens in imitation of the Ku Klux movement of reconstruction days. In the clamor of this growing agitation, the voice of the right-minded white people and industrious, self-respecting negroes was



The pawnshops, with windows like arsenals, furnish the low class of negroes and whites with cheap revolvers and knives

almost unheard. A few ministers of both races saw the impending storm and sounded a warning—to no effect; and within the week before the riot the citizens, the city administration and the courts all waked up together. There were calls for mass-meetings, the police began to investigate the conditions of the low saloons and dives, the county constabulary was increased in numbers, the grand jury was called to meet in special session on Monday the 24th.

But the awakening of moral sentiment in the city, unfortunately, came too late. Crime, made more lurid by agitation, had so kindled the fires of hatred that they could not be extinguished by ordinary methods. The best people of Atlanta were like the citizens of prosperous Northern cities, too busy with money-making to pay attention to public affairs. For Atlanta is growing rapidly. Its bank clearings jumped from ninety millions in 1900 to two hundred and twenty-two millions in 1906, its streets are well paved and well lighted, its street-car service is good, its sky-scrapers are comparable with the best in the North. In other words, it was progressive—few cities I know of more so—but it had forgotten its public duties.

Within a few months before the riot there had been a number of crimes of worthless negroes against white women. Leading negroes, while not one of them with whom I talked wished to protect any negro who was really guilty, asserted that the number of these crimes had been greatly exaggerated and that in special instances the details had

been over-emphasized because the criminal was black; that they had been used to further inflame race hatred. I had a personal investigation made of every crime against a white woman committed in the few months before and after the riot. Three, charged to white men, attracted comparatively little attention in the newspapers, although one, the offense of a white man named Turnadge, was shocking in its details. Of twelve such crimes committed by negroes in the six months preceding the riot two were cases of rape, horrible in their details, three were aggravated attempts at rape, three may have been attempts, three were pure cases of fright on the part of the white woman, and in one the white woman, first asserting that a negro had assaulted her, finally confessed attempted suicide.

The facts of two of these cases I will narrate—and without excuse for the horror of the details. If we are to understand the true conditions in the South, these things *must* be told.

One of the cases was that of Mrs. Knowles Etheleen Kimmel, twenty-five years old, wife of a farmer living near Atlanta. A mile beyond the end of the street-car line stands a small green bungalow-like house in a lonely spot near the edge of the pine woods. The Kimmels who lived there were not Southerners by birth but of Pennsylvania Dutch stock. They had been in the South four or five years, renting their lonesome farm, raising cotton and corn and hopefully getting a little ahead. On the day before the riot a strange rough-looking negro called at the back door of the Kimmel home. He wore a cast-off khaki soldier's uniform. He asked a foolish question and went away. Mrs. Kimmel was worried and told her husband. He, too, was worried—the fear of this crime is everywhere present in the South—and when he went away in the afternoon he asked his nearest neighbor to look out for the strange negro. When he came back a few hours later, he found fifty white men in his yard. He knew what had happened without being told: his wife was under medical attendance in the house. She had been able to give a clear description of the negro: bloodhounds were brought, but the pursuing white men had so obliterated the criminal's tracks that he could not be traced. Through information given by a negro a suspect was arrested

and nearly lynched before he could be brought to Mrs. Kimmel for identification; when she saw him she said: "He is not the man." The criminal is still at large.

One day weeks afterward I found the husband working alone in his field: his wife, to whom the surroundings had become unbearable, had gone away to visit friends. He told me the story hesitatingly. His prospects, he said, were ruined: his neighbors had been sympathetic but he could not continue to live there with the feeling that they all knew. He was preparing to

the negroes as much as I could. But many of them won't work even when the wages are high: they won't come when they agree to and when they get a few dollars ahead they go down to the saloons in Atlanta. Every one is troubled about getting labor and every one is afraid of prowling idle negroes. Now, the thing has come to me, and it's just about ruined my life."

When I came away the poor lonesome fellow followed me half-way up the hill, asking: "Now, what would you do?"

One more case. One of the prominent



TWO NEGROES OF THE CRIMINAL TYPE

Will Johnson, who is now in the Atlanta jail charged with the Camp assault (see page 578), has already been convicted of another assault

Lucius Frazier, who entered a home in the residence district, where a mother, wife and four daughters were alone. A neighbor, called by one of the daughters, saved them

give up his home and lose himself where people did not know his story. I asked him if he favored lynching, and his answer surprised me.

"I've thought about that," he said. "You see, I'm a Christian man, or I try to be. My wife is a Christian woman. We've talked about it. What good would it do? We should make criminals of ourselves, shouldn't we? No, let the law take its course. When I came here, I tried to help

florists in Atlanta is W. C. Lawrence. He is an Englishman, whose home is in the outskirts of the city. On the morning of August 20th his daughter Mabel, fourteen years old, and his sister Ethel, twenty-five years old, a trained nurse who had recently come from England, went out into the nearby woods to pick ferns. Being in broad daylight and within sight of houses, they had no fear. Returning along an old Confederate breastworks, they were



DECATUR STREET, WHERE THE RIOT ORIGINATED

It is a street of low saloons, dives, negro "clubs" and pawnshops, frequented by the lowest classes of both races. A few days before the riot an investigating committee counted no fewer than 2455 idle negroes in the 40 saloons of Decatur street

met by a brutal-looking negro with a club in one hand and a stone in the other. He first knocked the little girl down, then her aunt. When the child "came to" she found herself partially bound with a rope. "Honey," said the negro, "I want you to come with me." With remarkable presence of mind the child said: "I can't, my leg is broken—" and she let it swing limp from the knee. Deceived, the negro went back to bind the aunt. Mabel, instantly untying the rope, jumped up and ran for help. When he saw the child escaping the negro ran off.

"When I got there," said Mr. Lawrence, "my sister was lying against the bank, face down. The back of her head had been beaten bloody. The bridge of her nose was cut open, one eye had been gouged out of its socket. My daughter had three bad cuts on her head—thank God, nothing worse to either. But my sister, who was just beginning her life, will be totally blind in one eye, probably in both. Her life is ruined."

About a month later, through the information of a negro, the criminal was caught, identified by the Misses Lawrence, and sent to the penitentiary for forty years (two cases), the limit of punishment for attempted criminal assault.

In both of these cases arrests were made on the information of negroes.

The effect of a few such crimes as these may be more easily imagined than described: They produced a feeling of alarm which no one who has not lived in such a community can in any wise appreciate. I was astonished in traveling in the South to discover how widely prevalent this dread has become. Many white women in Atlanta dare not leave their homes alone after dark; many white men carry arms to protect themselves and their families. And even these precautions do not always prevent attacks.

But this is not the whole story. Everywhere I went in Atlanta I heard of the fear of the white people, but not much was said of the terror which the negroes also felt. And yet every negro I met voiced in some way that fear. It is difficult here in the North for us to understand what such a condition means: a whole community namelessly afraid!

The better-class negroes have two sources of fear: one of the criminals of their own race—such attacks are rarely given much space in the newspapers—and the other the fear of the white people. My very first impression of what this fear of the negroes might be came, curiously

enough, not from negroes but from a fine white woman on whom I called shortly after going South. She told this story.

"I had a really terrible experience one evening a few days ago. I was walking along ——— street when I saw a rather good-looking young negro come out of a hallway to the sidewalk. He was in a great hurry, and, in turning suddenly, as a person sometimes will do, he accidentally brushed my shoulder with his arm. He had not seen me before. When he turned and found it was a white woman he had touched, such a look of abject terror and fear came into his face as I hope never again to see on a human countenance. He knew what it meant if I was frightened, called for help and accused him of insulting or attacking me. He stood still a moment, then turned and ran down the street, dodging into the first alley he came to. It shows, doesn't it,

how little it might take to bring punishment upon an innocent man!"

The next view I got was through the eyes of one of the able negroes of the South, Bishop Gaines of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He is now an old man, but of imposing presence. Of wide attainments, he has traveled in Europe, he owns much property, and rents houses to white tenants. He told me of services he had held some time before in south Georgia. Approaching the church one day through the trees, he suddenly encountered a white woman carrying water from a spring. She dropped her pail instantly, screamed and ran up the path toward her house.

"If I had been some negroes," said Bishop Gaines, "I should have turned and fled in terror; the alarm would have been given, and it is not unlikely that I should have had a posse of white men with bloodhounds on my trail. If I had been caught



JACKSON ROW

One of a number of black settlements in Atlanta. Small, dilapidated houses crowded into irregular alleys are filled with negroes, many of them widows with children, who make a living by serving white families. These negroes are all near the edge of poverty, descending sometimes into crime, but living a happy-go-lucky life



Facsimiles of some Atlanta papers of Sept. 22, 1906

what would my life have been worth? The woman would have identified me—and what could I have said? But I did not run. I stepped out in the path, held up one hand and said:

“Don’t worry, madam, I am Bishop Gaines, and I am holding services here in this church.” So she stopped running and I apologized for having startled her.”

The negro knows he has little chance to explain, if by accident or ignorance he insults a white woman or offends a white man. An educated negro, one of the ablest of his race, telling me of how a friend of his who by merest chance had provoked a number of half-drunken white men, had been set upon and frightfully beaten, remarked:

“It might have been me!”

Now, I am telling these things just as they look to the negro; it is quite as important, as a problem in human nature, to know how the negro feels and what he says, as it is to know how the white man feels.

On the afternoon of the riot the newspapers in flaming headlines chronicled four assaults by negroes on white women. I had a personal investigation made of each of those cases. Two of them may have been attempts at assaults, but two palpably were nothing more than fright on the part of both the white woman and

the negro. As an instance, in one case an elderly woman, Mrs. Martha Holcombe, going to close her blinds in the evening, saw a negro on the sidewalk. In a terrible fright she screamed. The news was telephoned to the police station, but before the officials could respond, Mrs. Holcombe telephoned them not to come out. And yet this was one of the “assaults” chronicled in letters five inches high in a newspaper extra.

In short, Atlanta before the riot was in a condition of extraordinary nervous tension. A thorough study of the psychology of this riot, as of many others, would undoubtedly show that the chief cause was fear—fear on both sides—the sort of panic fear that strikes out blindly, not knowing or caring what it hits.

And finally on this hot Saturday half-holiday, when the country people had come in by hundreds, when every one was out of doors, when the streets were crowded, when the saloons had been filled since early morning with white men and negroes, both drinking—certain newspapers in Atlanta began to print extras with big headings announcing new assaults on white women by negroes. The *Atlanta News* published five such extras, and newsboys cried them through the city:

"Third assault."

"Fourth assault."

The whole city, already deeply agitated, was thrown into a veritable state of panic. The news in the extras was taken as truthful; for the city was not in a mood then for cool investigation. Calls began to come in from every direction for police protection. A loafing negro in a back yard, who in ordinary times would not have been noticed, became an object of real terror. The police force, too small at best, was thus distracted and separated.

In Atlanta the proportion of men who go armed continually is very large: the pawnshops of Decatur and Peters streets, with windows like arsenals, furnish the low class of negroes and whites with cheap revolvers and knives. Every possible element was here, then, for a murderous outbreak: the good citizens, white and black, were far away in their homes; the bad men had been drinking in the dives permitted to exist by the respectable people of Atlanta; and here they were gathered, by night, in the heart of the city.

And finally a trivial incident fired the tinder. Fear and vengeance generated it: it was marked at first by a sort of rough, half-drunken horseplay, but when once blood was shed, the brute, which is none too well controlled in the best city, came out and gorged itself. Once permit the shackles of law and order to be cast off, and men, white or black, Christian or pagan, revert to primordial savagery. There is no such thing as an orderly mob.

Crime had been committed by negroes, but this mob made no attempt to find the criminals: it expressed its blind, unreasoning, uncontrolled race hatred by attacking every man, woman or boy it saw who had a black face. A lame boot-black, an inoffensive, industrious negro boy, at that moment actually at work shining a man's shoes, was dragged out and cuffed, kicked and beaten to death in the street. Another young negro was chased and stabbed to death with jack-knives in the most unspeakably horrible manner. The mob entered barber shops where respectable negro men were at work shaving white customers, pulled them away from their chairs and killed them. Cars were stopped and inoffensive negroes were thrown through the windows or dragged out and beaten. They did not stop with killing and maim-

ing: they broke into hardware stores and armed themselves, they demolished not only negro barber shops and restaurants, but they robbed stores kept by white men.

Of course the Mayor came out, and the police force and the fire department, and finally the Governor ordered out the militia—to apply that pound of cure which should have been an ounce of prevention.

It is highly significant of Southern conditions—which the North does not understand—that the first instinct of thousands of negroes in Atlanta, when the riot broke out, was not to run away from the white people but to run to them. The white man who takes the most radical position in opposition to the negro race will often be found loaning money to negroes, feeding them and their families from his kitchen, or defending "his negroes" in court or elsewhere. All of the more prominent white citizens of Atlanta, during the riot, protected and fed many colored families who ran to them in their terror. Even Hoke Smith, Governor elect of Georgia, who is more distrusted by the negroes as a race probably than any other white man in Georgia, protected many negroes in his house during the disturbance. In many cases white friends armed negroes and told them to protect themselves. One widow I know of who had a single black servant, placed a shot-gun in his



Postmaster Price of Brownsville, a negro graduate of Atlanta University who was one of those arrested and charged with supplying the negro people with arms

hands and told him to fire on any mob that tried to get him. She trusted him absolutely. Southern people possess a real liking, wholly unknown in the North, for individual negroes whom they know.

So much for Saturday night. Sunday was quiescent but nervous—the atmosphere full of the electricity of apprehension. Monday night, after a day of alarm and of prowling crowds of men, which might at any moment develop into mobs, the riot broke forth again—in a suburb of Atlanta called Brownsville.

When I went out to Brownsville, knowing of its bloody part in the riot, I expected to find a typical negro slum. I looked for squalor, ignorance, vice. And I was surprised to find a large settlement of negroes practically every one of whom owned his own home, some of the houses being as attractive without and as well furnished within as the ordinary homes of middle-class white people. Near at hand, surrounded by beautiful grounds, were two negro colleges—Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary. The post-office was kept by a negro. There were several stores owned by negroes. The school-house, though supplied with teachers by the county, was built wholly with money personally contributed by the negroes of the neighborhood, in order that there might be adequate educational facilities for their children. They had three churches and not a saloon. The residents were all of the industrious, property-owning sort, bearing the best reputation among white people who knew them.

Think, then, of the situation in Brownsville during the riot in Atlanta. All sorts of exaggerated rumors came from the city. *The negroes of Atlanta were being slaughtered wholesale.* A condition of panic fear developed. Many of the people of the little town sought refuge in Gammon Theological Seminary, where, packed together, they sat up all one night praying. President Bowen did not have his clothes off for days, expecting the mob every moment. He telephoned for police protection on Sunday, but none was provided. Terror also existed among the families who remained in Brownsville; most of the men were armed, and they had decided, should the mob appear, to make a stand in defense of their homes.

At last, on Monday evening, just at dark,

a squad of the county police, led by Officer Poole, marched into the settlement at Brownsville. Here, although there had been not the slightest sign of disturbance, they began arresting negroes for being armed. Several armed white citizens, who were not officers, joined them.

Finally, looking up a little street they saw dimly in the next block a group of negro men. Part of the officers were left with the prisoners and part went up the street. As they approached the group of negroes, the officers began firing: the negroes responded. Officer Heard was shot dead; another officer was wounded, and several negroes were killed or injured.

The police went back to town with their prisoners. On the way two of the negroes in their charge were shot. A white man's wife, who saw the outrage, being with child, dropped dead of fright.

The negroes (all of this is now a matter of court record) declare that they were expecting the mob; that the police—not mounted as usual, not armed as usual, and accompanied by citizens—looked to them in the darkness like a mob. In their fright the firing began.

The wildest reports, of course, were circulated. One sent broadcast was that 500 students of Clark University, all armed, had decoyed the police in order to shoot them down. As a matter of fact, the university did not open its fall session until October 3, over a week later—and on this night there were just two students on the grounds.

The next morning the police and the troops appeared and arrested a very large proportion of the male inhabitants of the town. Police officers, accompanied by white citizens, entered one negro home, where lay a man named Lewis, badly wounded the night before. He was in bed; they opened his shirt, placed their revolvers at his breast, and in cold blood shot him through the body several times in the presence of his relatives. They left him for dead, but he has since recovered.

President Bowen, of Gammon Theological Seminary, one of the able negroes in Atlanta, who had nothing whatever to do with the riot, was beaten over the head by one of the police with his rifle-butt. The negroes were all disarmed, and about sixty of them were finally taken to Atlanta and locked up charged with the murder of Officer Heard.



Type of colored student at Clark University

In the Brownsville riot four negroes were killed. One was a decent, industrious, though loud-talking, citizen named Fambro, who kept a small grocery store and owned two houses besides, which he rented. He had a comfortable home, a wife and one child. Another was an inoffensive negro named Wilder, seventy years old, a pensioner as a soldier of the Civil War, who was well spoken of by all who knew him. He was found—not shot, but murdered by a knife-cut in the abdomen—lying in a woodshed back of Fambro's store. McGruder, a brick mason who earned \$4 a day at his trade, and who had laid aside enough to earn his own home, was killed while under arrest by the police; and Robinson, an industrious negro carpenter, was

shot to death on his way to work Tuesday morning after the riot.

And after the riot in Brownsville, what? Here was a self-respecting community of hard-working negroes, disturbing no one, getting an honest living. How did the riot affect them? Well, it has demoralized them, set them back for years. Not only were four men killed and several wounded, but sixty of their citizens were in jail. Nearly every family had to go to the lawyers, who would not take their cases without money in hand. Hence the little homes had to be sold or mortgaged, or money borrowed in some other way to defend those arrested, doctors' bills were to be paid, the undertaker must be settled with. Oh, a riot is not over when the shooting stops!

And when the cases finally came up in court and all the evidence was brought out every negro went free; but two of the county policemen who had taken part in the shooting, were punished. George Muse, one of the foremost merchants of Atlanta, who was foreman of the jury which tried the Brownsville negroes, said:

"We think the negroes were gathered together just as white people were in other parts of the town, for the purpose of defending their homes. We were shocked by the conduct which the evidence showed some of the county police had been guilty of."

After the riot was over, many negro families, terrified and feeling themselves unprotected, sold out for what they could get—I heard a good many pitiful stories of such sudden and costly sacrifices—and left the country, some going to California, some to Northern cities. The best and most enterprising are those who go: the worst remain. Not only have negroes left Brownsville, but they have left the city itself in considerable numbers. Labor will thus be still scarcer and wages may be higher in Atlanta because of the riot.

It is significant that *not one of the negroes killed and wounded* in the riot was of the criminal class. Every one was industrious, respectable and law-abiding. A white committee, composed of W. G. Cooper, Secre-

tary of the Chamber of Commerce, and George Muse, a prominent merchant, and backed by the sober citizenship of the town, made an honest investigation and has issued a brave and truthful report. It is a report which deserves to be read by every American. Here are a few of its conclusions:



EX-GOVERNOR W. S. NORTHEN

One of the best known and most respected citizens of Georgia, leader of the Christian League, who has been speaking throughout Georgia, urging obedience to law and complete justice to the negro

1. Among the victims of the mob there was not a single vagrant.

2. They were earning wages in useful work up to the time of the riot.

3. They were supporting themselves and their families or dependent relatives.

4. Most of the dead left small children and widows, mothers or sisters with practically no means and very small earning capacity.

5. The wounded lost from one to eight weeks' time, at 50 cents to \$4 a day, each.

6. About 70 persons were wounded, and among these there was an immense amount of suffering. In some cases it

was prolonged and excruciating pain.

7. Many of the wounded are disfigured, and several are permanently disabled.

8. Most of them were in humble circumstances, but they were honest, industrious and law-abiding citizens and useful members of society.

9. These statements are true of both white and colored.

10. Of the wounded, ten are white and sixty are colored. Of the dead, two are white and ten are colored; two female, and ten male. This includes three killed at Brownsville.

11. Wild rumors of a larger number killed have no foundation that we can discover. As the city was paying the funeral expenses of victims and relief was given their families,



JOHN E. WHITE

Pastor of the Second Baptist Church and the head of a great movement which plans the appointment of committees to consider broadly the whole negro question



CHARLES T. HOPKINS

Leader of the Civic League in Atlanta. Born in Tennessee and educated at Williams College, Mr. Hopkins has become one of the ablest men at the bar in Atlanta

they had every motive to make known their loss. In one case relatives of a man killed in a broil made fruitless efforts to secure relief.

12. Two persons reported as victims of the riot had no connection with it. One, a negro man, was killed in a broil over a crap game; and another, a negro woman, was killed by her paramour. Both homicides occurred at some distance from the scene of the riot.

The men who made this brave report did not mince matters. They called murder, murder; and robbery, robbery. Read this:

13. As twelve persons were killed and seventy were murderously assaulted, and as, by all accounts, a number took part in each assault, it is clear that several hundred murderers or would-be murderers are at large in this community.

At first, after the riot, there was an inclination in some quarters to say:

"Well, at any rate, the riot cleared the atmosphere. The negroes have had their lesson. There won't be any more trouble soon."

But read the sober conclusions in the

Committee's report. *The riot did not prevent further crime.*

14. Although less than three months have passed since the riot, events have already demonstrated that the slaughter of the innocent does not deter the criminal class from committing more crimes. Rapes and robbery have been committed in the city during that time.

15. The slaughter of the innocent does drive away good citizens. From one small neighborhood twenty-five families have gone. A great many of them were buying homes on the instalment plan.

16. The crimes of the mob include robbery as well as murder. In a number of cases the property of innocent and unoffending people was taken. Furniture was destroyed, small shops were looted, windows were smashed, trunks were burst open, money was taken from the small hoard, and articles of value were appropriated. In the commission of these crimes the victims, both men and women, were treated with unspeakable brutality.

17. As a result of four days of lawlessness there are in this glad Christmastime widows of both races mourning their husbands, and husbands of both races mourning for their

wives; there are orphan children of both races who cry out in vain for faces they will see no more; there are grown men of both races disabled for life, and all this sorrow has come to people who are absolutely innocent of any wrong-doing.

In trying to find out exactly the point of view and the feeling of the negroes—which is most important in any honest consideration of conditions—I was handed the following letter, written by a young colored man, a former resident in Atlanta; now a student in the North. He is writing frankly to a friend. It is valuable as showing a *real* point of view—the bitterness, the hopelessness, the distrust:

“ . . . It is possible that you have formed at least a good idea of how we feel as the result of the horrible eruption in Georgia. I have not spoken to a Caucasian on the subject since then. But, listen: How would

you feel, if with our history, there came a time when, after speeches and papers and teachings you acquired property and were educated, and were a fairly good man, it were impossible for you to walk the street (for whose maintenance you were taxed) with your sister without being in mortal fear of death if you resented any insult offered to her? How would you feel if you saw a governor, a mayor, a sheriff, whom you could not oppose at the polls, encourage by deed or word or both, a mob

of ‘best’ and worst citizens to slaughter your people in the streets and in their own homes and in their places of business? Do you think that you could resist the same wrath that caused God to slay the Philistines and the Russians to throw bombs? I can resist it, but with each new outrage I am less able to resist it. And

yet if I gave way to my feelings I should become just like other men . . . of the mob! But I do not . . . not quite, and I must hurry through the only life I shall live on earth, tortured by these experiences and these horrible impulses, with no hope of ever getting away from them; they are ever present, like the just God, the devil, and my conscience.

“If there were no such thing as Christianity we should be hopeless.”

Besides this effect on the negroes the riot for a week or more prac-

tically paralyzed the city of Atlanta. Factories were closed, railroad cars were left unloaded in the yards, the street-car system was crippled, and there was no cab-service (cabdrivers being negroes), hundreds of servants deserted their places, the bank clearings slumped by hundreds of thousands of dollars, the state fair, then just opening, was a failure. It was, indeed, weeks before confidence was fully restored and the city returned to its normal condition.



REV. H. H. PROCTOR

Pastor of the First Congregational Church (colored), to which belong many of the best colored families of Atlanta, and a leader of the Colored Civic League

One more point I wish to make before taking up the extraordinary reconstructive work which followed the riot. I have not spoken of the men who made up the mob. We know the dangerous negro class—after all a very small proportion of the entire negro population. There is a corresponding low class of whites, quite as illiterate as the negroes.

The poor white hates the negro, and the negro dislikes the poor white. It is in these lower strata of society, where the races rub together in unclean streets, that the fire is generated. Decatur and Peters streets, with their swarming saloons and dives, furnish the point of contact. I talked with many people who saw the mobs at different times, and the universal testimony was that it was made up largely of boys and young men, and of the low criminal and semi-criminal class. The ignorant negro and the uneducated white; there lies the trouble!

This idea that 115,000 people of Atlanta—respectable, law-abiding, good citizens, white and black—should be disgraced before the world by a few hundred criminals was what aroused the strong, honest citizenship of Atlanta to vigorous action.

The riot brought out all that was worst in human nature; the reconstruction has brought all that is best and finest. I think

there has been no more hopeful or courageous movement in the South since the war than this effort of the good men of Atlanta to get hold of the monumentally complex negro problem in a new way.

Almost the first act of the authorities was to close every saloon in the city, afterward revoking all the licenses—and for

two weeks no liquor was sold in the city. The police, at first accused of not having done their best in dealing with the mob, arrested a good many white rioters, and Judge Broyles, to show that the authorities had no sympathy with such disturbers of the peace, sent every man brought before him, 24 in all, to the chain-gang for the largest possible sentence, without the alternative of a fine. The grand jury met and boldly denounced the mob; its report said in part:

"That the



DR. W. F. PENN

This prosperous negro physician's home was visited by the mob. He was rescued by a white man in an automobile and upon appeal to a mass meeting of white citizens troops were sent to protect his family



Home of Dr. Penn



Home of Contractor Hamilton



*Home of Secretary Hunter of
the colored Y. M. C. A.*



Home of Barber Nash

TYPES OF THE BEST CLASS OF NEGRO HOMES IN ATLANTA

There are many well-to-do negroes living in fine houses. In these homes are pianos and organs, books, pictures, and other signs of a comfortable and progressive home life. Many blocks in Howell street are owned almost exclusively by negroes—some doctors, postal or railway mail clerks, ministers, barbers, storekeepers, real-estate dealers and others

sensationalism of the afternoon papers in the presentation of the criminal news to the public prior to the riots of Saturday night, especially in the case of the *Atlanta News*, deserves our severest condemnation."

But the most important and far-reaching effect of the riot was in arousing the strong men of the city. It struck at the pride of those men of the South; it struck at their sense of law and order, it struck at their business interests. On Sunday following the first riot a number of prominent men gathered at the Piedmont Hotel, and had a brief discussion; but it was not until Tuesday afternoon, when the worst of the news from Brownsville had come in, that they gathered in the courthouse with the serious intent of stopping the riot at all costs. Most of the prominent men of Atlanta were present. Sam D. Jones, president of the Chamber of Commerce, presided. One of the first speeches was made by Charles T. Hopkins, who had been the leading spirit in the meetings on Sunday and Monday. He expressed with eloquence the humiliation which Atlanta felt.

"Saturday evening at eight o'clock," he said, "the credit of Atlanta was good for any number of millions of dollars in New York or Boston or any financial center; to-day we couldn't borrow fifty cents. The reputation we have been building up so arduously for years has been swept away in two short hours. Not by men who have made and make Atlanta, not by men who represent the character and strength of our city, but by hoodlums, understrappers and white criminals. Innocent negro men have been struck down for no crime whatever, while peacefully enjoying the life and liberty guaranteed to every American citizen. The negro race is a child race. We are a strong race, their guardians. We have boasted of our superiority and we have now sunk to this level—we have shed the blood of our helpless wards. Christianity and humanity demand that we treat the negro fairly. He is here, and here to stay. He only knows how to do those things we teach him to do; it is our Christian duty to protect him. I for one, and I believe I voice the best sentiment of

this city, am willing to lay down my life rather than to have the scenes of the last few days repeated."

In the midst of the meeting a colored man arose rather doubtfully. He was, however, promptly recognized as Dr. W. F. Penn, one of the foremost colored physicians of Atlanta, a graduate of Yale College—a man of much influence among his people. He said that he had come to ask the protection of the white men of Atlanta. He said that on the day before a mob had come to his home; that ten white men, some of whose families he knew and had treated professionally, had been sent into his house to look for concealed arms; that his little girl had run to them, one after another, and begged them not to shoot her father; that his life and the lives of his family had afterward been threatened, so that he had had to leave his home; that he had been saved from a gathering mob by a white man in an automobile.

"What shall we do?" he asked the meeting—and those who heard his speech said that the silence was profound. "We have been disarmed: how shall we protect our lives and property? If living a sober, industrious, upright life, accumulating property and educating his children as best he knows how, is not the standard by which a colored man can live and be protected in the South, what is to become of him? If the kind of life I have lived isn't the kind you want, shall I leave and go North?"

"When we aspire to be decent and industrious we are told that we are bad examples to other colored men. Tell us what your standards are for colored men. What are the requirements under which we may live and be protected? What shall we do?"

When he had finished, Col. A. J. McBride, a real estate owner and a Confederate veteran, arose and said with much feeling that he knew Dr. Penn and that he was a good man, and that Atlanta meant to protect such men.

"If necessary," said Col. McBride, "I will go out and sit on his porch with a rifle."

Such was the spirit of this remarkable meeting. Mr. Hopkins proposed that the white people of the city express their deep regret for the riot and show their sympathy for the negroes who had suffered at the hands of the mob by raising a fund of money for their assistance. Then and

there \$4,423 was subscribed, to which the city afterward added \$1,000.

But this was not all. These men, once thoroughly aroused, began looking to the future, to find some new way of preventing the recurrence of such disturbances.

A committee of ten, appointed to work with the public officials in restoring order and confidence, consisted of some of the foremost citizens of Atlanta:

Charles T. Hopkins, Sam D. Jones, President of the Chamber of Commerce; L. Z. Rosser, President of the Board of Education; J. W. English, President of the Fourth National Bank; Forrest Adair, a leading real estate owner; Captain W. D. Ellis, a prominent lawyer; A. B. Steele, a wealthy lumber merchant; M. L. Collier, a railroad man; John E. Murphy, capitalist; and H. Y. McCord, President of a wholesale grocery house.

One of the first and most unexpected things that this committee did was to send for several of the leading negro citizens of Atlanta: the Rev. H. H. Proctor, B. J. Davis, editor of the *Independent*, a negro journal, the Rev. E. P. Johnson, the Rev. E. R. Carter, the Rev. J. A. Rush and Bishop Holsey.

This was the *first important occasion* in the South upon which an attempt was made to get the two races together for any serious consideration of their differences.

They held a meeting. The white men asked the negroes, "What shall we do to relieve the irritation?" The negroes said that they thought that colored men were treated with unnecessary roughness on the street-cars and by the police. The white members of the committee admitted that this was so and promised to take the matter up immediately with the street-car company and the police department, which was done. The discussion was harmonious. After the meeting Mr. Hopkins said:

"I believe those negroes understood the situation better than we did. I was astonished at their intelligence and diplomacy. They never referred to the riot: they were looking to the future. I didn't know that there were such negroes in Atlanta."

Out of this beginning grew the Atlanta Civic League. Knowing that race prejudice was strong, Mr. Hopkins sent out 2,000 cards, inviting the most prominent men in the city to become members. To his surprise 1,500 immediately accepted, only two refused, and those anonymously; 500 men not formally invited were also

taken as members. The League thus has the great body of the best citizens of Atlanta behind it. At the same time Mr. Proctor and his committee of negroes had organized a Colored Co-operative Civic League, which at this writing has a membership of fifteen hundred of the best colored men in the city, and a small committee which meets the committee of the white league.

Fear was expressed that there would be another riotous outbreak during the Christmas holidays, and the League proceeded with vigor to help prevent it. New policemen were put on, and the committee worked with Judge Broyles and Judge Roan in issuing statements warning the people against lawlessness. They got an agreement with the newspapers not to publish sensational news; the sheriff agreed, if necessary, to swear in some of the best men in town as extra deputies; they asked that saloons be closed at four o'clock on Christmas Eve; and through the negro committee, they brought influence to bear to keep all colored people off the streets. When two county police got drunk at Brownsville and threatened Mrs. Fambro, the wife of one of the negroes killed in the riot, a member of the committee, Mr. Seeley, publisher of *The Georgian*, informed the sheriff and sent his automobile to Brownsville, where the policemen were arrested and afterward discharged from the force. As a result, it was the quietest Christmas Atlanta had had in years.

But the most important of all the work done, because of the spectacular interest it aroused, was the defense of a negro charged with an assault upon a white woman. It is an extraordinary and dramatic story.

Although many people said that the riot would prevent any more negro crime, several attacks on white women occurred within a few weeks afterward. On November 13th Mrs. J. D. Camp, living in the suburbs of Atlanta, was attacked in broad daylight in her home and brutally assaulted by a negro, who afterward robbed the house and escaped. Though the crime was treated with great moderation by the newspapers, public feeling was intense. A negro was arrested, charged with the crime. Mr. Hopkins and his associates believed that the best way to secure justice and prevent lynchings was to have a prompt trial. Accordingly, they held a conference with

Judge Roan, as a result of which three lawyers in the city, Mr. Hopkins, L. Z. Rosser and J. E. McClelland, were appointed to defend the accused negro, serving without pay. A trial-jury composed of twelve citizens, among the most prominent in Atlanta, was called—one of the ablest juries ever drawn in Georgia. There was a determination to have immediate and complete justice.

The negro arrested, one Joe Glenn, had been completely identified by Mrs. Camp as her assailant. Although having no doubt of his guilt, the attorneys went at the case thoroughly. The first thing they did was to call in two members of the negro committee, Mr. Davis and Mr. Carter. These men went to the jail and talked with Glenn, and afterward they all visited the scene of the crime. They found that Glenn, who was a man fifty years old with grandchildren, bore an excellent reputation. He rented a small farm about two miles from Mrs. Camp's home and had some property; he was sober and industrious. After making a thorough examination and getting all the evidence they could, they came back to Atlanta, persuaded, in spite of the fact that the negro had been positively identified by Mrs. Camp—which in these cases is usually considered conclusive—that Glenn was not guilty. It was a most dramatic trial; at first, when Mrs. Camp was placed on the stand she failed to identify Glenn; afterward, reversing herself she broke forth into a passionate denunciation of him. But after the evidence was all in, the jury retired, and reported two minutes later with a verdict "Not guilty." Remarkably enough, just before the trial was over the police informed the court that another negro, named Will Johnson, answering Mrs. Camp's description, had just been arrested, charged with the crime. He was subsequently identified by Mrs. Camp.

Without this energetic defense, an innocent, industrious negro would certainly have been hanged—or if the mob had been ahead of the police, as it usually is, he would have been lynched.

But what of Glenn afterward?

When the jury left the box Mr. Hopkins turned to Glenn and said:

"Well, Joe, what do you think of the case?"

He replied: "Boss, I 'spec's they will hang me, for that lady said I was the man, but they won't hang me, will they, 'fore I see my wife and chilluns again?"

He was kept in the tower that night and the following day for protection against a possible lynching. Plans were made by his attorneys to send him secretly out of the city to the home of a farmer in Alabama, whom they could trust with the story. Glenn's wife was brought to visit the jail and Glenn was told of the plans for his safety, and instructed to change his name and keep quiet until the feeling of the community could be ascertained.

A ticket was purchased by his attorneys, with a new suit of clothes, hat and shoes. He was taken out of jail about midnight under a strong guard, and safely placed on the train. From that day to this he has never been heard of. He did not go to Alabama. The poor creature, with the instinct of a hunted animal, did not dare after all to trust the white men who had befriended him. He is a fugitive, away from his family, not daring, though innocent, to return to his home.

Another strong movement also sprung into existence. Its inspiration was religious. Ministers wrote a series of letters to the *Constitution*. Clark Howell, its editor, responded with an editorial entitled "Shall We Blaze the Trail?" W. J. Northen, ex-Governor of Georgia, and one of the most respected men in the state, took up the work, asking himself, as he says:

"What am I to do, who have to pray every night?"

He answered that question by calling a meeting at the Colored Y. M. C. A. building, where some twenty white men met an equal number of negroes, mostly preachers, and held a prayer meeting.

The South still looks to its ministers for leadership—and they really lead. The sermons of men like the Rev. John E. White, the Rev. C. B. Wilmer, the Rev. W. W. Landrum, who have spoken with power and ability against lawlessness and injustice to the negro, have had a large influence in the reconstruction movement.

Recently ex-Governor Northen has been traveling through the State of Georgia,

making a notable series of speeches, urging the establishment of law and order organizations, and meeting support wherever he goes. He has talked against mob-law and lynching in plain language. Here are some of the things he says:

"We shall never settle this until we give absolute justice to the negro. We are not now doing justice to the negro in Georgia.

"Get into contact with the best negroes; there are plenty of good negroes in Georgia. What we must do is to get the good white folks to leaven the bad white folks and the good negroes to leaven the bad negroes."

There must be no aristocracy of crime: a white fiend is as much to be dreaded as a black brute.

Another great movement, headed by the Rev. John E. White, plans the appointment of committees by the governors of the various Southern States to consider broadly the whole negro question.

These movements do not cover specifically, it will have been observed, the enormously difficult problems of politics, and the political relationships of the races, nor the subject of negro education, nor the most exasperating of all the provocatives—those problems which arise from human contact in street cars, railroad trains, and in life generally.

That they will meet the greatest difficulties in their work is shown by such an editorial as the following, published December 12th by the *Atlanta Evening News*:*

"No law of God or man can hold back the vengeance of our white men upon such a criminal (the negro who attacks a white woman). If necessary, we will double and treble and quadruple the law of Moses, and hang off-hand the criminal, or failing to find that a remedy, we will hang two, three, or four of the negroes nearest to the crime, until the crime is no longer done or feared in all this Southern land that we inhabit and love."

But these reconstructive movements are, in their beginnings, full of significance and hope: they mean that the strong people in the South, stirred by a moral impulse, are trying to grapple with these problems in a new way—a constructive way.

* On January 31, 1907, the *Atlanta Evening News* went into the hands of a receiver—its failure being due largely to the strong public sentiment against its course before and during the riot.

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

In order to give a clearer and more detailed view of conditions in Atlanta during and after the riot, the following documents and statistics compiled by Mr. Franklin Clarkin are here appended:

EDITORIAL INCITEMENT

On the evening preceding that of the riot, the *Atlanta News* published the following editorial:

It is Time to Act, Men

Two more unspeakable crimes have been committed in this county.

Men of Fulton, what will you do to stop these outrages against the women?

Shall this terrible wave of criminality continue?

Shall these black devils be permitted to assault and almost kill our women, and go unpunished?

Surely, these latest outbreaks proves the contention of the *News* that more and better protection is needed in this community.

The officers of the law seem powerless to prevent the commission of these crimes.

The laws fail to restrain the brutes who are bent on ravishing defenseless white women.

All of the power of the police and of the county officers fails to check the awful outrages of these black imps.

The citizens must be aroused to cooperate with the law and the officers to put a stop to these crimes.

Every foot of ground in Fulton must be patrolled day and night if these outrages continue.

Every vagrant, loafing unknown negro must be taken up and sent to the chain-gang for long periods.

The community must be cleared of these vagabonds who prey upon the innocent women victims of their lust.

Posses of men must be on the alert for these criminals.

They must be caught and punished swiftly.

The News has raised a reward for the capture and conviction of any man who assaults a white woman.

This reward is ready to be paid when the guilt of any of these brutes is established.

The *News* advocated and secured an increase in the county police force.

These men are just beginning their work, and have not had a fair chance to demonstrate their efficiency.

The *News* demanded an increase in the city police force.

Provision has been made for the increase of the force on October 1st by forty men.

Twenty-four extra men have been added to the county force.

The *News* is organizing The News' Protective League of citizens to cooperate with the officers of the law in running down and capturing these guilty blacks.

This league will endeavor to prevent the crimes, if possible, but failing, will aid in punishing the criminals.

Citizens must have a part in checking the growth of this crime.

It will require the united effort of the good white men of this community to protect our women.

Let no man withhold his support of this movement to provide better protection for the innocent womanhood of the community.

Join The News' League, or offer your services to the authorities, and assist in stopping this crime before any more of the noble white women of this section have fallen victims of these infamous devils who are prowling about night and day ready to attack the first woman they meet.

It is time to act, men; will you do your duty now?

FIRST PROTEST AGAINST "THE NEWS"

Addressing the Baptist Ministers' Monday Meeting on September 10th, the Rev. John E. White characterized "The News' League" and its offer of reward as follows, as reported in the *Georgian*:

"The very idea of a newspaper's offering a reward for lynching, or commending it, is an outrage upon decency, and abhorrent to our civilization," said Rev. John E. White, pastor of the Second Baptist Church, at the regular weekly meeting of the Baptist ministers Monday morning.

"The recent political campaign has greatly excited our people in this matter, and I have been told by a prominent politician that the great ground swell which swept over the State was due in a large measure to a desire to do something against the negro."

"It was at this point that Dr. White made the remark he did about newspapers which have commended lynching and urged the formation of societies outside the pale of the law. Dr. White's remarks met with the warm approval of the ministers present."

THE RIOT'S VICTIMS

"Twelve persons were killed and 70 were murderously assaulted," is the report of the Riot Relief Committee, of which W. R. Joyner

(now mayor) was chairman. ". . . Two persons reported as victims of the riot had no connection with it. One, a negro, was killed in a broil over a crap game; the other, a negress, was killed by her paramour. . . . Among the victims of the mob there was not a single vagrant. They were earning wages in useful work up to the time of the riot. They were supporting themselves and their families or dependent relatives. Most of the dead left small children and widows, mothers or sisters, with practically no means and very little earning capacity. . . . Of the wounded 10 are white and 60 colored—two of them females. . . . Most of them were in humble circumstances, but honest, industrious and law-abiding citizens and useful members of society."

Here is a list verified independently of persons killed in the course of the disturbances in and about Atlanta, September 22d, 23d, 24th and 25th, including two killed in broils:

KILLED

White:

County Policeman James Heard, shot dead in South Atlanta, September 24th, by negroes.

Negroes:

Frank Fambro (supposed to have fired the shot which killed Policeman Heard), groceryman, head of family, owned his home, at South Atlanta, September 24th.

Sam Magruder, brickmason, head of a family, owned his home, South Atlanta, September 24th; handcuffed at the time he was shot.

Annie Shepperd, negress, shot at point-blank in a broil in East Third Street, September 22d.

Henry Welch, lame negro bootblack, working at business when killed.

Milton Brown, 30 years old, driver for Stecks Coal Company, had been paid off and was shopping; murdered in the street, leaves wife and two children.

Will Marion, bootblack, September 22d.

Frank Smith, 18 years old, Western Union messenger, sole support of his mother, September 22d; stabbed to death with jack-knives.

Willis Morland, porter, shot to death, leaves mother, wife and four children.

James Fletcher, boy, 16 years old, killed going to school.

George Wilder, aged 78, laborer, owned his home, killed by stabbing, South Atlanta, September 24th.

Sam Robinson, carpenter, going to his work at South Atlanta, shot by soldiers for not halting, September 25th, left wife and three children.

Clem Rhodes, driver, killed September 22d, leaves mother, sister, wife and four children.

Leola Maddox, 30 years old. She and her husband were shopping in Mitchell Street. Mob beat both and stabbed her. She died a week later; she was a janitress, her husband a section hand: respectable persons.

LYNCHED

Zeb Long, occupation unknown, arrested September 23d in Brownville for carrying a new pistol; taken from jail, hanged and shot by mob at East Point, September 24th.

Ten whites and sixty blacks were wounded, many seriously.

SEPTEMBER SESSION OF THE GRAND JURY ON THE RIOT

Resolutions condemning lawlessness and violence in Atlanta, approving the action of Mayor Woodward in closing the saloons and thanking Recorder Broyles for his punishment of offenders were passed by the Fulton County Grand Jury on September 26, 1906:

We, the members of the Grand Jury, empanelled and sworn for the September term of the Fulton Superior Court, wish to place on record our severe condemnation of the recent exhibition of the spirit of lawlessness in our community as an unspeakable and unmitigated evil. We appeal to all conservative and law-abiding citizens to exert their utmost influence for the prompt and vigorous suppression of mob violence, and for the strict enforcement of law and order. We call upon the good people of the county, who are advised of the identity of any person or persons, who either took part in the recent rioting in this city, or were witnesses of same, to furnish to the Grand Jury the names of such participants or witnesses, to the end that those persons who may be shown to have taken part in the rioting, either as leaders or participants, may be presented by the Grand Jury for trial.

The assaults on the women of this county must cease, but the killing and maiming of innocent persons is no punishment for the original crime. One crime is never cured by the commission of another crime. The rioting of last Saturday night is a blot on the good name of this county, and an outrage on our Anglo-Saxon civilization. When an honest appeal to the courts of the country shall no longer be available, we will have incurred exposure to the greatest private and public calamity. Let us, therefore, at every peril and sacrifice, uphold the strong arm of the court; aid in the enforcement of law in letter and in spirit, and thus preserve the blessings of orderly liberty to ourselves and to our children.

A. J. West, foreman, J. R. Nutting, John M. Green, James M. Couper, Ernest Woodruff, Albert Steiner, W. H. Kiser, Demps Perkinson, S. C. Huff, B. M. Blount, Edwin Kingsbery, Joseph Thompson, H. L. Harralson, Frank Hawkins, George E. King, George W. Sciple, J. W. Cotton, L. H. Beck.

The following resolutions were also passed: To the Hon. J. G. Woodward, Mayor Atlanta, Ga.:

We, the Grand Jury of Fulton County, now in session, commend your action in closing the saloons of the city, and we earnestly request that you do not allow them to be opened until after next Saturday night. Respectfully submitted, A. J. West, foreman.

Resolved, by the Grand Jury of Fulton County, That the Hon. Nash R. Broyles, judge of the Recorder's Court of this city, deserves and has the thanks of the good people of the whole county for the fearless and determined manner in which he has discharged the difficult duties of his position in connection with the recent unfortunate rioting in this city. A. J. West, foreman.

Resolutions condemning the action of the evening newspapers of Atlanta, published in part on page 13 of Mr. Baker's article, were also passed.

OCTOBER SESSION OF THE GRAND JURY ON THE RIOT

On October 30, 1906, the Grand Jury had this to say of the riot:

We carefully investigated the recent unfortunate riot, many witnesses having been examined, and every effort having been made to arrive at the exact facts, and as a result a large number of indictments were found. It is the opinion of the Grand Jury that, had the Police Department opposed a determined front to the mob at the inception of the riot all serious trouble could have been averted. After the riot was under full headway the individual members of the police force, with some exceptions, seem to have acted with courage and with a consciousness of the gravity of the situation, except that there was too little disposition to resort to stringent measures in protecting the innocent and helpless. When innocent persons were being maimed and murdered no measure was too extreme for their protection. We regret exceedingly to report that some members of the police force failed signally and absolutely in the performance of their duty on that fatal Saturday night. Whether their failure was due to cowardice, or to active sympathy with the rioters, their conduct was a blot on the fair name and face of Atlanta, and brought reproach upon the whole Police Department of the city.

We believe that the better class of both races are urgently demanding the restricting of all lawlessness and the prompt enforcement of the law, and we think the time has arrived when cooperation between the best elements of both races can be brought to bear in lessening crime. To reach the criminal negro, we urge upon all law-abiding negroes that they do everything in their power to assist the public authorities to ferret out crime and to apprehend the criminal.

For the protection of our rural population, we urge the establishment of a thoroughly equipped and efficient rural constabulary organized by each county and aided by the State.

We wish to commend the action of our City Council in providing that no saloon shall in future be allowed to serve both races. We wish further to call the attention of the city authorities to the fact that many billiard and pool rooms in the city are places that tend to create and foster indolence and crime, especially those patronized and conducted by negroes. We recommend that this matter be carefully considered by the proper authorities, and that such of those places as are detrimental to the public good be discontinued.

We believe the crime of assault with intent to rape should be made a capital offense in the discretion of the jury trying the case. We are strengthened in this conviction by a case we have been called on to investigate during our present service. It was a case horrible in all of its details, and of the most revolting and appalling cruelty. The defendant richly deserved the punishment of death, but he could only receive a sentence of twenty years in the penitentiary. We do most earnestly recommend that our immediate representatives in the next General Assembly use their earnest and best efforts to have a law passed in accordance with this recommendation.

REPORT OF CHIEF OF POLICE JENNINGS FOR 1906

Estimated population of Atlanta, 115,000; area in square miles, 12; number of miles of streets patrolled, 250; average number of miles patrolled by 39 patrolmen on the morning watch, $6\frac{1}{3}$; average number of miles patrolled by 40 patrolmen on the day watch, $6\frac{1}{4}$; average number of miles patrolled by 60 patrolmen on the evening watch, $4\frac{1}{6}$; average of one patrolman on the morning watch to every 2,950 persons; average of one patrolman on the day watch to every 2,875 persons; average of one patrolman on the evening watch to every 1,917 persons.

Appropriated to the department... \$194,214.75
Expenses during the year 1906.... 192,965.08

Balance unexpended.....\$1,249.67

COMPARISONS

Number of arrests during the year 1906. 21,702
Number of arrests during the year 1905. 17,195

Amount of fines collected for year
1906\$86,294.20
Amount of fines collected for year
1905 55,149.60

An increase for the year 1906 of...\$31,144.60

Amount of fines worked on streets
for year 1906.....\$53,048.39
Amount of fines worked on streets
for year 1905..... 42,461.90

An increase for the year 1906 of...\$10,586.49

ARRESTS

State cases.....	2,101
City cases.....	19,601
Total	21,702
Which were disposed of as follows:	
State cases:	
Prosecuted	448
Dismissed	539
Transferred to city docket.....	785
To other counties.....	271
Continued	582
Total	2,101
City cases:	
Fined	14,454
Dismissed	3,210
Bound over.....	1,088
Continued	849
Total	19,601
Sex of persons arrested:	
White, males.....	7,515
White, females.....	676
Colored, males.....	10,317
Colored, females.....	3,194
Total	21,702

LYNCHINGS IN GEORGIA

In 1906 lynchings in Georgia were for these causes:

Assault	1
Attempted assault.....	3
Disorderly conduct.....	1
Murder	3

HOW THE RIOT HURT ATLANTA FINANCIALLY

From the *Atlanta Constitution*, September 30, 1906:

The best and most reliable business and commercial thermometer, the Atlanta Clearing House Association, in its figures of the month of September shows the effect of the recent riots in Atlanta on the welfare and prosperity of the city in the matter of cold dollars and cents.

For the first time in many years the totals for the month fail to show an increase over the figures of the corresponding month for the year previous. Atlanta's strides in a business and commercial way have been as steady and regular as they have been rapid, and the effect of the recent riots has been that of interfering with this steady and rapid progress for the first time in many years.

From Darwin G. Jones, manager of the Atlanta Clearing House Association, a *Constitution* reporter was able to secure the following figures:

Clearings for September, 1905.....	\$15,990,577.15
Clearings for September, 1906.....	15,973,699.80
Decrease, 1906 under 1905.....	\$16,877.35

Up until the time of the riot the clearings for September, 1906, showed the regular normal gain over the previous year. Then came that Saturday night so costly to Atlanta, and following in its wake such a business depression as has not been known in Atlanta for many years, according to those in the best position to know.

But it is in the clearings for the past week that the effect of the recent troubles on the business progress and prosperity of Atlanta is best illustrated. In these clearings the official figure for the past week shows more than \$200,000 decrease over the clearings for the same week last year.

The official figures are as follows:

Clearings for week ending yesterday	\$3,659,861.75
Clearings for same week last year	3,773,161.31

These figures show a decrease of \$203,299.56 for the week, a decrease so great that the increase during the previous portion of the month, or that part of September up to the time of the riots, was overcome and as a result the monthly clearings for Atlanta show a decrease for the first time in a very long period.

REPORT OF PUBLIC COMMITTEE TO DISBURSE FUNDS COLLECTED FOR THE RELIEF OF RIOT VICTIMS

To the Public:

The committee appointed to disburse funds contributed for the relief of victims of the mob in the September riot has instructed us to make a report of its work, and we take this method of communicating the facts to the public. The committee is composed of W. R. Joyner, chairman; Harry L. Schlesinger, Louis Gholstin, M. R. Emmons, W. H. Patterson, chairman of the City Finance Committee, and the undersigned.

The treasurer has received contributions aggregating \$4,423, and has paid out, on orders drawn by the secretary, \$4,363.96, leaving a balance of \$59.04 on hand, which is held for matters not closed up.

In addition to this, the city of Atlanta appropriated \$1,000 for the relief fund, with the proviso that the funeral expenses of the mob's victims be paid out of it. These expenses amounted to \$623.65, leaving \$376.35 of the city appropriation, which was used for relief of wounded, except about \$125, which was used to help three or four cases of suffering among very poor people whose property was destroyed.

At the outset the committee adopted the plan of paying the doctors' bills of the wounded and paying them for the time lost. This policy was carried out as closely as the funds and the number of wounded would permit. Where they were treated at the Grady Hospital this treatment was in lieu of doctor bills. Each case was investigated

as best we could with the time at our disposal, and the money was paid out on certificates of employers, showing the time lost and the wages paid.

In this investigation we were greatly aided by the City Warden, Mr. Thomas Evans, and it is a pleasure to bear witness to his faithfulness, intelligence and efficiency as an official. With a kind heart, he has untiring energy and discriminating judgment.

In this manner we paid to the wounded about half the contributed fund, leaving about \$2,200 to be divided among the families of the dead. This sum was divided among the sufferers in amounts varying from \$50 to \$400.

In fixing the amounts to be paid, we considered the earning capacity of the deceased and the needs of the bereaved family. Under the latter head we considered the number of dependent children and the ability of the widow to support them, or her age, infirmity and helplessness.

It was our purpose to establish a full list of the disbursements with the name and address of each beneficiary, but there are circumstances of a delicate nature connected with some of these cases, and we have been brought to the conclusion that such a publication would be unwise. We have, however, submitted to Mr. W. H. Patterson, chairman of the City Finance Committee, a detailed statement of disbursements with vouchers attached, and they have his approval. Any subscriber to this fund who would like to see the statement and the vouchers can do so if he will call at the office of George Muse, where they are on file.

In connection with this statement of disbursements we think it our duty to call attention to some of the facts which have come to light during our investigations.

Leaving out the Brownville cases, where a number of persons charged with complicity in the killing of Policeman Heard are out on their own bonds, the following facts are true beyond question:

[The seventeen numbered conclusions of the committee will be found in Mr. Baker's article, pages 10 and 11.]

In conclusion, we call attention to the fact that up to this time Atlanta had been a law-abiding city, and criminals of all kinds, with a single exception, had been punished by legal methods. Repeatedly, in view of hundreds of men, the sheriff has conducted along the public highways prisoners charged with the most odious crimes, and these prisoners had legal trials, which resulted in the punishment of the guilty and the acquittal of the innocent.

Considering this record of a law-abiding community, it is amazing that the things we have recited could have happened in Atlanta, and that the small minority which constitutes the tough element was allowed to crucify this community in the eyes of the world and shock the moral sense of our own people.

W. G. COOPER,
GEORGE MUSE.

"AN INFINITESIMAL PER CENT."

Public statement from Mr. S. M. Inman, Atlanta, January 4, 1907:

"I was North when the Atlanta riot occurred, and was impressed with the wholesale denunciation of the entire white people of Atlanta on account of the brutality and inhumanity of a few men—I felt that it was unfair and unjust to condemn a whole people for the sins of a few—an infinitesimal per cent. of the population.

"In the same way I think it wrong to stir up hatred and create prejudice against the negroes of our country, because a few of the most degraded go wrong. The great mass of the colored people of Georgia are hard-working, law-abiding citizens.

"If half the publicity were given to those who are trying to do right and live right that is given to the crimes of a few, our people and the world would view them in a different light."

KINDNESS OF BETTER-CLASS WHITE MEN DURING THE RIOT

Instances of protection of negroes by white families during the riot, referred to in Mr. Baker's article, were common. Here are a few additional cases:

J. B. Belser, special officer of the Bijou Theater, resisted on the night of the riot a mob of 200 at the Marietta Street entrance to the playhouse. While loading scenery, three of the negroes of the Atlanta Baggage and Cab Company were being severely dealt with. He ran into the crowd, "cut out" the negroes and hustled them into the stairway of the Bijou and called a physician. Some one yelled, "He's got fifteen inside!" With that the mob pressed toward the entrance, but Belser locked it from the outside and drew a pistol. He kept the negroes safe within the theater during the night.

James N. Reeves, Jr., colored, son of the negro chaplain of the stockade and county chain gang, in a street car at corner of Marietta and Peachtree streets on the night of the riot was set upon by white men who came aboard the cars, stabbed in the forehead with a dirk and "tramped on."

"Except for two police officers who hurried in," he declares, "I should have been killed. One of the officers was Chief of Police Jennings, and the other I did not recognize. They lifted me up, and an unknown white man helped me from the corner of Piedmont Avenue and Houston Street to my home, 143 Cain Street. I didn't know him. When my father came to the door to take me in this kind white man had gone."

White families generally undertook personal protection of their servants. Servants not in the habit of sleeping in the house were allowed to stay, and in numerous instances they brought their relatives to this same protection. One rich white man of Peachtree

Street gave each negro employee on his place a shotgun, and told each to use it if any whites approached threateningly. At South Atlanta Charles Deckner's and C. Smith's families gathered in a dozen colored persons, guarding them a day and a night.

CASES OF NEGRO ATTACKS ON WHITE WOMEN IN THE SIX MONTHS PRECEDING THE RIOT

The cases of Mrs. Knowles Etheleen Kimmel and of the Misses Lawrence are narrated in Mr. Baker's article, pages 2 and 3, and are therefore not included in the list given below.

CASE OF MRS. NANCY DU PREE

March 10th.—Mrs. Nancy Du Pree was found at the house where she worked with her throat badly cut. She said that a negro had assaulted her. An armed posse with bloodhounds searched the country. The dogs could not strike a trail. The woman did not die. Later she confessed to an attempt at suicide because of family unhappiness.

CASE OF MISS WARD

March 13th.—The little daughter of the Rev. A. C. Ward, coming home from school in distress, told her mother that the colored janitor of the school had treated her offensively. The janitor's plea and excuse was that he had found the little girl crying in the cloak-room, and had tried to pet her by putting his hand on her shoulder and saying, "Don't cry, honey." He was sent to the chain-gang for twelve months.

CASE OF ANNIE LAURIE POOLE

July 31st.—Annie Laurie Poole, fifteen years old, daughter of a groceryman, J. J. L. Poole, of 740 Pryor Street, whose home was in the suburb of Lakewood, at ten o'clock in the morning was returning along a country road from a neighbor's, swinging in her hand her bonnet, in which were some tomatoes the neighbor had given her. About 125 yards from the Poole house the road turned, and the sight of the house was hidden by a knoll.

She heard a heavy step. She looked round. A negro gripped her by the throat. "Then came a fierce struggle lasting five minutes." Her tomatoes were found fifteen minutes later, by members of her family drawn by her screams, scattered over the roadway; two nickels she had were on the opposite side from where she lay, exhausted, reviving to consciousness. There were marks on her throat, her wrists, bruises on her body.

Neighbors gathered. Her father came home from the store. "If that brute is caught," he said, "he will never be tried in the courts."

Journal extras appeared. Atlanta men hurried out to Lakewood in automobiles, buggies and on horseback. They came upon

the father, weeping and crying, "My poor innocent baby girl!" She described the negro—"tall, black, with dirty felt hat, black shirt, blue overalls, muddy shoes."

Toward three o'clock one of the bloodhounds, called Troupe, stood by a cabin across the fields. When one part of the crowd came up he howled, pointing to the cabin. Within the cabin were three men and a woman. One of them, "of medium height, had partly changed his clothes, and nearby were a pair of muddy boots." This one was taken by T. M. Poole, B. L. Johnson and Simon McGee and marched to the doorstep of the Poole home. The girl cried, "That's the one!"

From up the road came the clatter of mounted police. Who fired nobody would say, but there was "a roar of powder," and the negro dropped, three bullets in his heart. The police swept up to find him still breathing, "stretched in a pool of blood, confessing that he had committed the assault."

He was Floyd Carmichael, son of a negro then serving a jail sentence for arson in Henry County, and who had left his last known employer two weeks before.

There was a donkey cart in the group. In that, after discussion as to what should be done with him, the dead negro was placed and taken to Atlanta, the posse riding five abreast at a walk ahead, and behind the cart the buggies and automobiles. Opposite Poole's grocery the procession stopped. The crowd increased and sought oil and matches, but was induced to allow the now dead negro to be taken to an undertaker.

Coroner Thompson, after consulting with Court Attorney Rosser, decided that an inquest was not necessary, as there was no "provision in law for holding an inquest where there were eye witnesses to the killing." The police said: "The shooting took place so quickly they could not tell who was firing and who was not. It was all in such a brief space of time they were unable to interfere and stop the shooting."

Said the *Georgian*: "When asked Wednesday if he would take any action in regard to the Lakewood lynching, Governor Terrell replied that there was nothing for him to do. He said that no reward would be offered for the lynchers unless such a request was made by the county authorities. The Governor expressed the opinion that if any action was taken at all, it would be by the Grand Jury." At the sheriff's office it was also declared there was nothing for that office to do in the matter, as "the identity of the lynchers is unknown."

Dr. O. N. Hardin and Dr. Monroe Smith examined the girl and reported that no rape had been accomplished.

CASE OF MRS. RICHARD HEMBREE

August 15th.—In a neck of woods, when on her way to board a trolley for Atlanta, Mrs. Richard Hembree was set upon by a negro, robbed of \$2.00 and "made the victim of

an attempt at assault." As she handed out her pocketbook, the negro seized her arm, dragged her into a thicket, threw her down and choked her. Mrs. Hembree, being a strong woman, fought effectively. She at last drew her hat pin and the negro fled. Returning to her home, she was met by a negro farmhand, who ran and told her husband, and hounds and a crowd immediately began a hunt. Wilbon Matthews was brought to her doorstep. To fend off peremptory shooting Justice of the Peace William Wood addressed the crowd, insisting that no harm should be done to the captive till Mrs. Hembree had identified him. She looked at him a long time, then said: "No, he isn't the one," and he was released.

She afterwards recognized Will Johnson, arrested in the case of Mrs. Camp, which occurred after the riot (narrated in Mr. Baker's article, page 16), as her assailant. Johnson alleged on trial that he was sick on August 15th; and a negro witness certified that Johnson had remained in his own room all that day. He was convicted, and sentenced to be hanged on January 4th. In the Tower where he was confined he continued to assert his innocence, saying: "Before my God and before men I am innocent. I never did what they charge me with. They say I must hang, though, and I am ready to go. I have been praying ever since they put me in jail, and my sins have been forgiven."

On December 22d, Judge Roan of the Superior Court, upon the application of Johnson's attorneys, Walter McElreath and Alex W. Stephens, granted a supersedeas, which acted as a stay of execution until the further order of the Court. The application was made on the ground of newly discovered evidence, the attorneys appointed to the defence declaring they had discovered that Henry I. McDuffie, Jr., a former white foreman of the Southern Ferro Concrete Company, and P. B. Heyward, a former white employee of the same company, had made affidavits that Johnson worked on the day of the assault at the Southern Express Stables under Foreman McDuffie, from 6.30 o'clock that morning until 5 in the afternoon, stopping but half an hour for dinner, from 12 to 12.30 o'clock. Johnson is still in jail. His picture appears with Mr. Baker's article, page 3.

CASE OF MRS. LIZZIE CASH CHAFFIN

September 22d—day of the riot: Reported in afternoon newspapers of this date that while Mrs. Lizzie Cash Chaffin, of Sugar Creek, DeKalb County, "was going to feed her hogs she discovered a negro lurking in the brush." (That was at two in the afternoon of September 21st.)

She ordered him to leave the premises. He did not move. She went to the house, got her husband's shotgun and fired at him. He disappeared in a neighboring swamp.

Mrs. Chaffin's husband and brother, soon arriving home, started after the negro. At

4.30 o'clock neighbors had collected to hunt for the "ginger-cake colored man." Facts were as stated. He was not caught.

CASE OF MISS MITTIE WAITS

August 24th.—Miss Mittie Waits, eighteen years old, an assistant teacher in the school in the suburb of Adamsville, was, according to newspaper reports, "made a victim of attempt at assault." What really happened was this:

She had gone to a spring in a ravine on her father's farm to get a drink of water at about one o'clock in the afternoon. Nearing it, she heard a noise; looking around, she saw no one. She bent to dip up some water. As she straightened, there stood in front of her, across the spring, "a tall black negro in blue overalls with a stick in his right hand." She turned, screamed, and ran back to the house. The negro ran the opposite way into a swamp. Neighbors collected; even people from Atlanta went down to hunt the negro. Three days after Miss Waits partly identified Will Hindsman, who had been taken near River Camp. She picked him out of ten or twelve negroes as probably the one who had "frightened" her.

But the evidence that he was the one was not convincing, and Will Hindsman was set loose.

CASE OF MISS ORRIE BRYAN

September 20.—"Girl Jumps into Closet to Escape Negro Brute," was one of the three-column headlines over one newspaper account of the adventures of Miss Orrie Bryan, eighteen years old, at 232 Courtland Street, quite in the center of Atlanta. "With his yellow lips forming insulting phrases," was the way the *News* opened its description, and commented in the midst of the report that "this assault was a particularly brutal one."

These were the facts: While Miss Orrie, her mother and two little sisters were alone at home, the father being at the Y. M. C. A., a negro opened a window and entered. They saw him come up the hall. He was barefoot and had no trousers on, and one of his heavy shoes he carried in his hand. Mrs. Bryan ran out the back door and alarmed the neighbors. Miss Orrie's way was blocked by the negro with the uplifted shoe. She closed the bedroom door, held it, and locked herself and sister in. Pounding on the door, the negro cried: "Don't be scared, honey, for I love you."

Presently he ran from the house. Neighbors, already aroused by Mrs. Bryan, surrounded him calling, "Lynch him!" Police-men arrived, handcuffed him, led him away.

At his hearing next day before Recorder Broyles in the police court he said his name was Luther Frazier, and his defense was: "Judge, I don't remember a thing that happened last night. If the white folks say I was in that house I reckon it must be so. I got

drunk with another negro, and the last thing I remember was when I was in a barroom on Decatur Street. I don't remember anything about taking off part of my clothes."

His missing clothes had been found in a clump of bushes in the Bryan yard. "I will hold this negro on the double charge of assault with intent to rape, and burglary, in bonds of \$5,000," decided the Recorder, "and I order him sent to jail."

On September 24th, three days later, Frazier was indicted by the Grand Jury. He has not yet been tried (March 8th), but is held in jail.

CASE OF MRS. FRANK ARNOLD

September 22d—day of the riot: "As Mrs. Frank Arnold," reported the *Constitution*, "was going out the back door of her residence, 127 Julian Street, about seven o'clock last night, a negro jumped out of the darkness, seized and knocked her down. Mrs. Arnold cried out, and the negro ran for the woods, while the rest of the family within the house came to the rescue. The news spread rapidly through the neighborhood; a posse was arranged and Court Officers Dunbar and Maddox began to scour the country for the guilty party. Not long after a crowd of white men caught a negro near the National Furniture Company and brought him up to Broad and Marietta Streets. County Officer Dunbar conveyed the negro to Fulton County jail, where he remains to be identified."

Two days after the event the *News* reported:

"The negro was carried before Mrs. Arnold, who, it is stated, readily identified him as the guilty one. No mob had gathered at that time, and officers in a buggy started to jail with the black. Accidentally driving in front of a Marietta Street car the buggy was overturned, and in the scuffle the negro escaped. His coat alone was retained. Quickly an excited mob of men and boys assembled and gave chase. They ran the negro over the hills towards the Zion Hill Baptist Church. The church was searched from top to bottom, but no sign of the wanted one could be found. Had he been discovered," the *News* commented, "his end would have been quick and drastic. Everyone of the mob of six hundred or more was armed, and free display of weapons and angry, determined threats were made."

Solicitor-General Hill declares that the negro who escaped in the collision was one wanted on a different charge. No arrest ever was made in this case.

CASE OF MRS. MATTIE HOLCOMBE

September 22d—day of the riot: "About nine o'clock last evening," reported the *Constitution* next morning, "Mrs. Mattie Holcombe, elderly, who lives at 275 Magnolia Street, was in her home alone. She went to shut the blinds when she discovered a negro

man looking into them. In a terrible fright the old lady screamed, and the brute got away. The news was telephoned to the police station, and when Call Officers Norris and Brannon went to respond, the old lady herself phoned that there was no use to come as the man had gotten away."

No arrest made.

CASE OF MISS ALMA ALLEN

September 22d—day of the riot: Miss Alma Allen, stepdaughter of Henry Lancaster, 180 Davis Street, Atlanta, at about seven-thirty o'clock in the evening was, according to her own story, "out on the back porch washing her hands. There is an opening from the next street to the back porch. Suddenly, in the dark, a man appeared beside me. I lifted my hands out of the water and screamed. When I screamed the man pushed me over, and I fell to the floor. My sister came and then went for the neighbors. I don't know," added Miss Allen voluntarily, "whether the man was white or black, I was so excited." Neighbors traced him a short distance, then they lost the trail.

No arrest made.

PENALTIES FOR ATTEMPTED ASSAULTS BY WHITES

A \$200 fine.—June 5th.—George Cann, twenty-one years old, a grocer's deliveryman, entered the apartment of Mrs. Cornelia Hunt, recently wedded, and not sixteen years old. "Don't you want some honey?" he testified he asked her. Mrs. Hunt's answer, he said, was: "Don't you think I'm sweet enough without honey?"

Mrs. Hunt's testimony was that the young man embraced her and attempted to force her into the nearby room adjoining the hall where he met her, and that in the struggle he had torn her shirt waist, which was offered in evidence.

Her husband testified that he was a machinist who worked at night, and on the morning in question had gone out for a short time, and, upon his return, was met at the front door by his wife, who was in a terribly excited state, and was afterwards informed by her of Cann's abuse. Mrs. Christianberry, a neighbor, corroborated.

Cann was indicted for attempted criminal assault; but the court gave the jury the prerogative of finding him guilty (December 19th) of "simple assault," which they did, and Cann was sentenced to "twelve months or \$200." Cann paid the fine of \$200.

A fifteen-year sentence.—December 7th.—Mrs. Carrie Comstock, agent for a cooking compound, calling at the home of Robert Turnadge, 128 Jones Avenue, asked if the lady of the house was in. Turnadge said, "Come in." Mrs. Comstock began telling Turnadge the efficacy of her ware. Turnadge took hold of her. She resisted. "But for God coming to my aid just at that mo-

ment," declared Mrs. Comstock, "that man would have dishonored me. But, as he passed his hand over my face I seized one of his fingers in my mouth, and clenched my teeth upon it. Then he struck me in the face, broke my nose, and when I finally tried to escape struck me on the head with the water pitcher and cursed me as I lay prostrate and helpless."

Turnadge's defense was that he did not remember anything of the alleged assault. He claimed he was drunk and in a fit of insanity at the time of the crime. Alienists testified that he had the stigma of a degenerate, and was frequently irresponsible.

"Guilty of attempt at criminal assault, but with a recommendation to mercy," was the jury's verdict.

"In deference to the jury," said Judge Roan, "I sentence you to serve fifteen years

at hard labor in the penitentiary. The maximum punishment I might inflict would be twenty years, which is what, but for the recommendation of the jury, I would have imposed upon you. Yours is one of the most brutal crimes I have known of. I cannot strongly enough characterize your cowardly and brutal attack upon this good woman."

Awaiting trial.—December 12th.—In Donaldsville, on her way from church, Miss Argene Floyd was seized by a white man, whose intention seemed to be assault. She fought him off and shouted, and the man upon hearing relief coming, fled.

A man answering the description was caught at the station while purchasing a ticket for the night train, and was later identified by Miss Floyd. He was Thomas Middleton, who deserted his wife four years ago. He is in jail awaiting trial.

THE RECONSTRUCTION

CIVIC LEAGUE MOVEMENT

First appeal sent out:

To the Law-abiding, Peace-loving Citizens of Atlanta:

One of the results of the recent riot has been a rapidly growing sentiment that some intelligent action should be taken in order to prevent a repetition. Further loss of prestige, injury to business, anxiety and bloodshed should be avoided if possible.

Inspired with the belief that such measures should be adopted as will in the future prevent similar trouble, and, in harmony with the growing sentiment, we, the undersigned, have consented to take the initiatory towards an organization having but this one end in view. This is done after conference with a sufficient number of citizens to justify us in the statement that the great, overwhelming majority of law-abiding people in this county are opposed not only to riots and lynchings, but to any other form of injustice or violation of the law.

It has been determined to form an association to be tentatively known as "The Atlanta Civic League," and we earnestly invite you to become a member.

The object of this association is *not* politics, and no one with political ambition is desired as a member. There are no dues, and no demands of any character will be made upon the members except for moral support.

The purpose of the association will be to take such steps, through an executive committee, as will tend to promote peace between the races, see that offenders of both races are apprehended and justice impartially administered, and permanently secure protection to both white and black.

We earnestly urge you to consider the importance of the questions involved, not only as regards the present, but the future prosperity of the city. If we deal with this matter intelligently there is no reason why success should not be attained.

If you favor this movement, please sign and mail the inclosed postal card.

C. B. Wilmer,
George Muse,
Forrest Adair,
John J. Eagan,
F. L. Seely,
L. Z. Rosser,
H. Y. McCord,
Robt. Maddox,
Walter G. Cooper,
Rabbi David Marx,

Frank Hawkins,
H. S. Johnson,
A. B. Steele,
Alex W. Stirling,
R. B. Ridley,
F. J. Paxton,
W. O. Foote,
Chas. T. Hopkins,
Chairman.
Jno. E. Murphy,
Executive Committee.

EX-GOVERNOR W. J. NORTHEN'S MOVEMENT

SUGGESTED PLAN FOR READJUSTMENT OF THE
RELATIONS OF THE RACES LOOKING TO THE
SUPPRESSION OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE AND
THE SAVAGERY OF MOBS

1. Call a mass-meeting of law-abiding citizens. Have it understood that others are not expected to participate. Appoint an executive committee of ten or twelve of the best citizens who are known for large public spirit, and put the matter of organization and general management into their hands.

2. To enlarge the membership, this committee, over their signatures, should send out circular letters to suitable people in the community and throughout the county, asking consent to use the names of the parties addressed, for strengthening public sentiment with both white people and negroes against crime and violence. In these letters there should be inclosed a printed self-addressed postal card for reply.

3. The Executive Committee should then arrange a conference with a small number of the best, law-abiding negroes in the community, including all the negro ministers, and obtain their coöperation in the organization of a league between all the law-abiding white people and all the law-abiding negroes, who will agree to enter together upon some systematic plan of education on law and order for both races, so that these elements may leaven the bad elements of both races.

4. All the white ministers in the community should be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee, and asked to lead in all the efforts to awaken and strengthen public sentiment upon civic righteousness.

5. The league should be kept entirely under the control and management of the Executive Committee. When thus organized, the ministers, white and colored, should be asked to preach to their respective congregations, the same day, on law and order.

6. At intervals of three or four weeks, public addresses by members of the committee or other citizens should be delivered in the court house or other public place, to assemblies of white people and negroes, so that the public mind may be kept interested, and all the people active in maintaining high ideals of citizenship and good order.

7. Let it be remembered that the 22d of last September was the day of the State's greatest dishonor and disgrace, because of the savage riot in Atlanta, and, in order that our people may be fully redeemed from this

shame, the 22d of next September will be a law and order day throughout all parts of of the State that may be organized at that time. Every minister in the State being asked to preach on law and order in the forenoon of that day, while the Executive Committee of each organized community will arrange for addresses to be delivered in the afternoon, before white people and negroes, assembled in the court house or some suitable place.

8. We need strong public sentiment on the seven separate propositions set out in the accompanying pamphlet. These propositions should be the basis of the system of the education entered upon.

9. Let it be understood all the way through that in the South there can never be any social intermingling of the races, and that the political power of this section will remain in present hands, but that the negroes will be guaranteed equal protection of the law, and that all the resources of the law will be exhausted in protecting the innocent and punishing the guilty. There should be no aristocracy of crime. A white fiend is as much to be dreaded as a black brute.

MOVEMENT INITIATED BY THE REV. JOHN E. WHITE, PASTOR OF THE SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH OF ATLANTA

It is proposed to bring about through the cooperation of the chief executives of the Southern States the organization of a Southern commission for the purpose of giving crystallization to those conclusions, with regard to our Southern situation and the future of the two races in the South, which represent the highest conscience and at the same time the spirit of the Southern white people. It is expected that this commission shall consist, three from each State, of men of the highest public and private character, whose presence on the commission will be calculated to commend the confidence of their respective States.

The reasons which urge the importance of such commission are as follows:

First. The present unsettled and unsatisfactory state of affairs in the South, with regard to the relations of the races, is not a permanent condition, and must either result in a better situation or a situation indescribably worse.

Second. The Southern white people owe it to themselves to get together as far as possible in agreement and in policy, and as the dominant and responsible people should not be without some programme.

Third. The white people of the South owe it to the negroes, who are in confusion with respect to what the Southern white people really require at their hands, to give them an understanding of the conditions under which they may hope for security in progress and in peace in their development as a race.

Fourth. The Southern white people are under obligation to the rest of the nation, and as Anglo-Saxons to the rest of the world, to face this race situation with courage and with confidence, and to prove that there is constructive statesmanship among us sufficient to deal with our problem in accordance with the principles of Christian civilization.

Fifth. The necessity that something originating among the Southern people and shaped in their own hands shall be done is pressed upon us by the constant peril of outbreak and violence. Any thoughtful man in the South must realize that outbreaks like the Atlanta and Mississippi riots have a tendency to destroy confidence in our ability to control our situation, and that continuing, a protest would soon be heard from Christian communities in other parts of the world calling upon the United States as a nation and holding the whole country responsible for inhumanities. The result will inevitably be that the Southern race situation will become a matter of Congressional action and national interference. When this occurs the South will be at once plunged into a period of reaction and resentment on one side, and conscientious support of order and national authority on the other, making a line of hot division throughout our whole Southern society.

The plan proposed by which the concurrence and cooperation of the governors may be secured is to have a conference of prominent Southerners at an early date, which will canvass this matter, and as result of their deliberation present to the governors singly a petition for the appointment of the three representatives from each State, to constitute the aforesaid commission.

Along with this petition this conference would present to each Governor the pledge that the provision for all expenses of the commissioners and the commission had been provided by Southern men who love the South, and who realize the injury resulting to the South on account of our lack of programme, and are prepared in a sympathetic and patriotic spirit to provide the necessary finances attending the work of the commission.

It is proposed that when the commissioners are appointed and meet, their main objective shall be after a thorough investigation of our situation and the ascertainment of conditions and facts that are general in the South, to issue a proposed line of policy upon which the Southern people should be able to agree, in the form of an address to the people and to the country.

The matters coming up upon which pronouncement would be expected naturally suggest themselves.

First. The matter of the separation of the races in the schools, in public places, and socially.

Second. The matter of race integrity for negroes and for whites, a final and conclu-

sive understanding as to this on the part of the negroes, and determined drastic, social and political legislation against lust and cohabitation as regards the whites with negroes.

Third. The matter of the suffrage. Some final policy should be undertaken in the creation of public sentiment based on defensible moral grounds, with regard to the elimination of ignorant negro voters, and also of the ultimate application of this wise principle of government to the unprepared of both races.

Fourth. The matter of negro labor. Encouragement to the negro to stay close by the soil on the ground of increasing agricultural opportunity in the South, and on the ground of a natural race evolution; encouragement of the negro also to thrift and industry. Therefore, the repeal of all legislation discouraging to the freedom of labor; also encouragement of a natural diffusion of labor as the variations of opportunity may naturally permit. On the further grounds that at many points in the South there is an overcongestion of negro population.

Fifth. The matter of education. A recognition of two facts—of white illiteracy and the white man's first duty to his own children, and the history of our free school development and the difficulties attending taxation—but at the same time the negro schools to be increased and improved as rapidly as possible. Probably also emphasis on industrial education in the negro free schools.

Sixth. The matter of justice. This would bring in the consideration of a rural police, and also the coöperation of the negroes in the detection of criminals, and pronouncedly we would give a pledge of trial by jury and of protection against all lawlessness.

For such a commission to pronounce upon these and other matters about which at the present time there is much feeling and no crystallization of thought, would lay down a line by which the press, the pulpit, the schools and the people could begin to hew, and by which also the negroes would make a better assured progress than they are at present making toward the adjustment of their race to its environment. . . .

REVIEW OF THE RECONSTRUCTION
MOVEMENT PUBLISHED IN THE
ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, DE-
CEMBER 23, 1906

THE TRAIL BEING BLAZED

Some two months ago, when Atlanta was recovering from the semi-paralysis following the racial disturbances in this city, the *Constitution* published an editorial summarizing the chaos of the recent past, stressing the futility with which the South had hitherto

wrestled with this forbidding problem, and calling with all the vigor at its command for the representative men of the community to take the initiative in a sensible, conservative campaign which should look to the final banishment of a menace of long standing.

The editorial was headed "Shall We Blaze This Trail?"

There are ample evidences that the appeal made in the white-heat of an exigency fell on fertile soil, and that Atlantans whose lifework spells earnestness and success are bravely blazing a true trail to the solution of a problem which has become the common and sinister heritage of the South and the nation.

A pertinent illustration is the interview with ex-Governor W. J. Northen, published elsewhere in to-day's *Constitution*.

Governor Northen shows how the crusade of the Business Men's Gospel Union, under his guidance, is being extended into such cities as Columbus, Macon, Augusta and Sparta. He shows that, at a sacrifice of his time and personal interests, he will visit within a few days Valdosta, Quitman, Thomasville and Albany. He testifies that in every place yet visited he has secured the enthusiastic coöperation of the BEST WHITE CITIZENS, in the furtherance of a propaganda looking toward law and order, and the vitalizing of the precepts of Christ's religion in the removal of friction between the races.

It is his intention, as he states, to carry this strong, tranquilizing gospel INTO THE SOUTHERN STATES BROADLY, as soon as the work of organization in Georgia reaches an assured basis.

Backed by the Business Men's Gospel Union, Governor Northen stands out as a type of the active, aggressive patriot, whose work should be encouraged by the whole South.

Of equal moment and equal promise is the campaign of the Atlanta Civic League. Enlisting in its ranks upwards of fifteen hundred of the most substantial citizens of Atlanta, it stands pledged to exhaust human ingenuity and patience and financial resources in the same humanitarian task as that essayed by the Gospel Union.

The *Constitution* has shown how eagerly and loyally its suggestions have been received by the business men approached; how silently, yet effectually its plans were being materialized, and what genuine credit was due to Charles T. Hopkins, the zealous guiding genius of the one organization as Governor Northen is that of the other.

Pioneers—in a way—in the blazing of a trail criss-crossed with snarls and inevitable discouragements, they are due the gratitude and high praise the people will accord them.

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